

## Selling the Naval Ports : Modern-Day Maizuru and Tourism

著者	UESUGI Kazuhiro
journal or publication title	Japan review : Journal of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies
volume	33
page range	219-246
year	2019
URL	<a href="http://doi.org/10.15055/00007271">http://doi.org/10.15055/00007271</a>

## Selling the Naval Ports: Modern-Day Maizuru and Tourism<sup>1</sup>

UESUGI Kazuhiro

The four district naval bases (*chinjufu*) of the former Imperial Japanese Navy developed throughout the modern period into “naval cities” (*gunkō toshi*). These continue to function as bases for regional divisions of the Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF), which today continues to utilize some former naval facilities. If we unravel the history of Japanese tourism to naval cities, there is evidence that the navy was used as a resource to shape tourist practices; naval tourism can therefore be said to have existed before World War II. In contemporary Japan, the navy and former naval bases continue to be utilized as tourism resources in various forms of contents tourism. Previous research about naval and naval base tourism has been limited because it tends to focus on short time periods. In order to understand the current nature of such tourism, however, we need to adopt a long-term perspective spanning the establishment of the bases to the present. This article looks at Maizuru, a city in northern Kyoto prefecture that has experienced the greatest tourist growth over recent years among Japan’s naval cities. It traces changes in how the navy has been utilized as a tourism resource, as well as attitudes towards the navy, from the 1900s to the present. Through an analysis of guidebooks and postcards, it reveals how pre-World War II disarmament was a turning point in the emergence of the navy as a tourism resource. The article then identifies three distinct periods in Maizuru tourism in the postwar: a focus on war repatriates, the “discovery” of redbrick naval buildings, and the foregrounding of the navy. It argues that the Maizuru tourism industry only consciously utilized the navy from the latter half of the first decade of the twenty-first century. Further, it is argued that the shift towards heritage classification and development of contents tourism based on online gaming and anime can be understood as having emerged out of this context.

**Keywords:** naval city, navy, Maizuru, tourism, disarmament, heritage, exhibitions, repatriation, redbrick buildings, contents tourism

---

1 I would like to thank Iba Setsuko 伊庭節子, Matsui Isao 松井功, Yamashita Miharu 山下美晴, NPO MCA, Maizuru-shi Kankō Shōgyō Ka 舞鶴市観光商業課, Maizuru-shi Bunka Shinkō Ka 舞鶴市文化振興課, and Maizuru Repatriation Memorial Museum for providing information invaluable to this article.

## Introduction

District naval bases (*Chinjufu* 鎮守府), the central institutions of the former Imperial Japanese Navy, were established at four locations within Japan: Yokusuka 横須賀, Kure 呉, Sasebo 佐世保, and Maizuru 舞鶴 (see figure 1). Following the construction of a base and naval ammunition factory (*kōshō* 工廠), each of these places experienced population growth and developed into cities. Although the end of the Asia-Pacific War led to widescale demilitarization, in which Japan renounced its army and navy, the establishment of the Self-Defense Forces in 1954 resulted in regional divisions of the Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF, Kaijō Jieitai 海上自衛隊) being deployed to all former district naval bases. As a result, each of these places continues to possess the characteristics of a naval city even today.<sup>2</sup>

Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez has revealed multiple historical and contemporary overlaps between Pacific tourism and U.S. militarism in Hawai‘i.<sup>3</sup> In the case of Guam, another base for the U.S. military in the Pacific, Yamaguchi Makoto 山口誠 has demonstrated how the memory of Japanese occupation and war withered as the island grew in popularity as a destination for Japanese tourists.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, Hiroshima’s history as a military city has been occluded by the touristic image developed in the postwar as an atomic city.<sup>5</sup>

As these studies reveal, tourism affects representations and memories of former military bases differently, dependent on a range of factors: whether or not it was a battleground; the war’s outcome; and on postwar sociopolitical movements at the national and international level. While previous research has demonstrated how battlefield sites become tourism resources, military bases are typically treated as incidental or seen as part of an unmentionable past. This article attempts to fill this gap by examining how cities in Japan have exploited their history as naval bases, both in the past and the present, for tourism purposes.

One reason there has been little research about military base tourism is that researchers seldom look across prewar and postwar periods. As many bases were constructed before or during war, a trans-war, diachronic approach is needed to understand fully the historical and contemporary utilization of military bases by the tourism industry, and the significance of these bases within contemporary tourism generally.<sup>6</sup> With these points in mind, this article examines the changing relationships between tourism and “naval port cities” (*gunkō toshi* 軍港都市) from their construction as Imperial Navy cities through to the present day. The end of the Asia-Pacific War, and subsequent transformation in the position of the military, brought dramatic changes to these naval cities as well, but this naval history, and the later use of the ports by the JMSDF, continue to exert a powerful influence on their character. In this paper, I explore how naval port cities represent themselves, and how they have exploited the navy as a tourism resource.

2 For more about the direction and findings of research about naval cities in Japan, see the following studies, all part of a series of historical research about naval cities (*Gunkōtoshi shi kenkyū* 軍港都市史研究): Kawanishi 2014; Kitazawa 2018; Ōmameuda 2017; Sakane 2010; Sakane 2016; Uesugi 2012b; Ueyama 2017.

3 Gonzalez 2013.

4 Yamaguchi 2007. For more on historical memory and amnesia, see Foote 2003.

5 See Ran Zwigenberg’s article in this volume. Also, Fukuma, Yamaguchi, and Yoshimura 2012; Yoneyama 1999.

6 For research across the prewar and postwar divide on Hiroshima, see Zwigenberg’s article in this special. Zwigenberg’s article, however, finishes in the 1960s. Though Fukuma Yoshiaki’s 福間良明 contribution to this special focuses primarily on the postwar, it does so until the 2010s.



Figure 1. Location of naval cities. Produced by author.

Geographical and historical differences between Japan's four former Imperial Navy port cities make generalization difficult. For example, Yokosuka and Sasebo are home to U.S. military as well as JMSDF bases; Yokosuka's location in the Greater Tokyo Area makes it easily reachable for tourists from the capital; and a theme park makes Sasebo popular with leisure tourists.<sup>7</sup> Thus the relationship between tourism and the naval bases can be more clearly observed in Kure and Maizuru, as I have shown in previous research.<sup>8</sup> Looking at trans-war discussions of Kure, I explored how postwar city planners engaged with the city's naval history, especially through the emergence around 2005 of the Yamato Museum 大和ミュージアム, which directly draws on this history and has played an important role in attracting tourists. Yamamoto Rika 山本理佳, also, has discussed shifts in tourism and regional strategies in the Kure area following the establishment of the Yamato Museum.<sup>9</sup>

The greatest growth rate in tourist numbers in recent years has not been to Kure, however, but to Maizuru (see figure 2). Research about Maizuru is therefore essential to understanding recent trends in tourism to naval cities. I have previously discussed the history of Maizuru as a city of postwar repatriation, and the accrual of heritage value to the city's redbrick naval warehouses, but my focus was not tourism itself.<sup>10</sup> In addition, there has not yet been any detailed study of the city's prewar history. Therefore, this article focuses on Maizuru to understand better the city's history, naval tourism in Japan generally, and the wider relationships between tourism and military bases.

Maizuru is located in north Kyoto prefecture. In 2017, its population stood at 84,115. The city is divided into two districts: Nishi Maizuru 西舞鶴, a town that formed around Tanabe Castle (Tanabe-jō 田辺城) in the sixteenth century; and Higashi Maizuru 東舞鶴, or in the prewar, Shin Maizuru 新舞鶴 (New Maizuru), which developed out of the establishment of the district naval base in 1901. This paper will focus on the latter.

7 On the relationship between politics and modern heritage in Sasebo, see Yamamoto 2013.

8 Uesugi 2012a; Uesugi 2014.

9 Yamamoto 2015.

10 Uesugi 2010; Uesugi 2011.

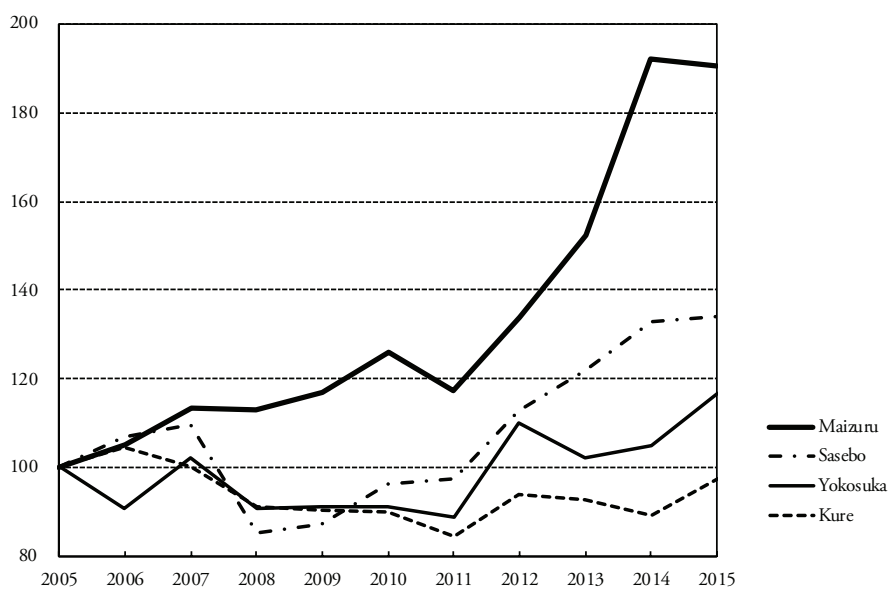


Figure 2. Relative change in tourist numbers since 2005 in Japan's four naval port cities (taking 2005 as 100). Kure-shi; Maizuru-shi; Sasebo-shi; Yokosuka-shi.

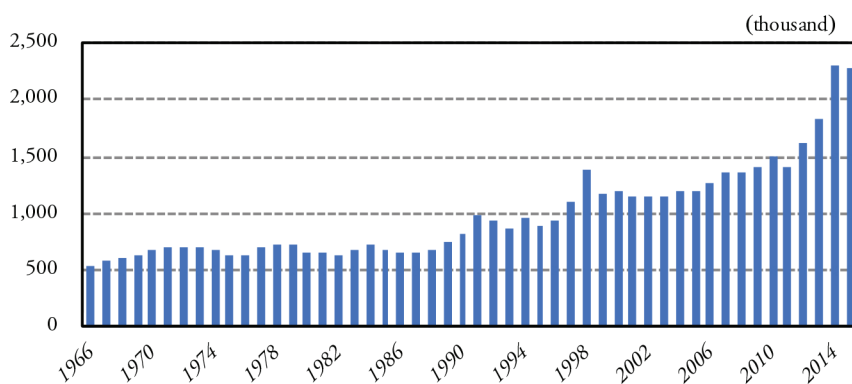


Figure 3. Visitors to Maizuru (1966–2015). Maizuru-shi.

Figure 3 shows fluctuations in the estimated number of tourists visiting Maizuru between 1966 and 2015. While earlier data is unavailable, it is unlikely that visitors from before this period greatly outnumbered those of 1966. The 1990s can be seen as a turning point at which visitor numbers consistently increased, eventually surpassing one million. The 2010s are also important in the city's tourism development, as the decade has seen another sudden increase in visitor numbers.

### Before the War: Tourism and the Birth of a Naval City

#### *Navy Port Construction and Early Tourism*

Before its rapid urbanization after the establishment of the district base for the Imperial Navy, Shin Maizuru was a scattered collection of houses along a coastal road. The other three naval cities also developed from small villages.<sup>11</sup> Unlike cities that grew out of castle towns (*jōka machi* 城下町) or post towns (*shukuba machi* 宿場町), Japan's naval port cities were complete products of modernization.

As modern cities, naval cities have little premodern heritage or history to utilize for tourism. Located near East Maizuru is Matsuno'o-dera 松尾寺, a Buddhist temple popular from the middle ages as a stop on a thirty-three temple pilgrimage route. The only other temples or shrines are those visited by locals, and many of these were relocated or otherwise greatly affected by the base's construction.<sup>12</sup> *Shin Maizuru annaiki* 新舞鶴案内記, the first guidebook for the town, devotes a section to Matsuno'o-dera but recommends no other places of worship.<sup>13</sup>

There are two other points worth mentioning regarding the *Shin Maizuru annaiki*. First, in a chapter titled "Guide to the Maizuru Naval Port," it provides data on all the facilities and warships of the Maizuru fleet.<sup>14</sup> Clearly the navy believed this information was worth publicizing. Further, although stating that only workers and members of the military can usually enter the navy port, the guidebook describes the application procedure for entrance. It also explains that a guard (*eihei* 衛兵) of the Marine Corps (*kaiheidan* 海兵団) was available to guide "school students and other large groups for educational purposes," and that with the permission of the head of each facility, it was possible to observe the base's ammunition factories, Marine Corps, Submarine Corps (*suiraidan* 水雷団), navy hospital, and Petty Officer Graduation Assembly Hall (Kashikan Sotsu Shūkaijo 下士官卒集会所). Visitors to these facilities were prohibited from surveying, photographing, note-taking, and inspecting armaments, or exploring the lie of the land.

A second point relates to the guidebook's inclusion of two war monuments: a monument built in 1909 on Mt. Shimen 四面 to enshrine the war dead of the eastern Kasa 加佐 district; and a monument built in 1907 to enshrine sixteen members of Maizuru's Twenty-First Fleet who died in battle during the Russo-Japanese War.<sup>15</sup> Both monuments feature the calligraphy of Tōgō Heihachirō 東郷平八郎, the first Commander-in-Chief of the Maizuru District Naval Base and Combined Fleet (Rengō Kantai 連合艦

11 Uesugi 2012b.

12 Taoka 2016.

13 Takashiba 1911.

14 Takashiba 1911.

15 Takashiba 1911.

隊) during the Russo-Japanese War. The authors list these monuments under the famous historical sites section (*meishō kyūseki* 名勝旧跡), otherwise reserved for places of natural beauty or historical importance. *The guidebook* emphasizes the beauty of the surrounding environment, such as the view from the mountain and trees planted around the monument, and describes facilities built for visitors. It thus demonstrates how these memorials to the Maizuru war dead were developed as must-see attractions, integrated into prevailing tourist narratives, and utilized in the construction of regional identity.<sup>16</sup>

#### *Arms Control and Exhibitions*

Armament reduction! Maizuru Naval Port Downturn!! This news came as a bolt from the blue for citizens of Shin Maizuru. All 20,000 of them were astonished, at one point turning pale in shock. However, they never forgot what they needed to do. Riding out the highs and lows, they deliberated calmly, and established industrial development as city policy.<sup>17</sup>

So began the *Shin Maizuru annai* 新舞鶴案内, a guidebook published for the 1923 Shin Maizuru exposition. This exhibition marked a new chapter in the city's history. At the 1922 Washington Naval Conference, the major naval powers agreed to reduce armaments. The Imperial Navy duly reduced the scale of Maizuru port drastically, demoting it from the status of district naval base to that of "important port" (*yōkōbu* 要港部). Anxious over Maizuru's economic future, city leaders and residents made efforts to transform Shin Maizuru into an industrial city.<sup>18</sup> Fortunately for them, Maizuru had become a transportation hub by this stage, through which train lines to Kyoto and the Japan Sea intersected. In addition, restrictions that had been strictly enforced while Maizuru was a district navy base were eased, enabling commercial vessels to enter the port.<sup>19</sup> With the aim of transforming the shape of the city, leaders, like the navy before them, made the most of Shin Maizuru's qualities as an outstanding natural port, and utilized the transportation network that initially had been formed due to the presence of the district naval base.

The 1923 Shin Maizuru exposition held between 1 April and 10 May to commemorate the opening of the Japan Sea coastal railway and Shin Maizuru port provided the city with an opportunity to publicize this new vision of Maizuru.<sup>20</sup> The exposition's first day was also the day that Maizuru officially changed status to that of "important port." In other words, the exposition marked Maizuru's shift from a naval to an industrial site. The exposition included approximately sixty-seven thousand exhibits from thirty-two Japanese prefectures, as well as from Korea, Taiwan, South Manchuria, and China.<sup>21</sup> The most popular attractions were naval exhibits and facilities within the navy base that were opened specifically for the occasion. Visitors could observe warships and weaponry in action, board

16 For more on the role of war memorials in the formation of regional and national identities in modern Japan, see Motoyasu 2002; Shirakawa 2015.

17 Miyazaki 1922.

18 Sakane 2010.

19 Iizuka 2010.

20 The full title of the exposition is as follows: Ura Nihon Tetsudō Kaitsū, Shin Maizuru Tetsudō Kaitsū, Shin Maizuru Kaikō Kinen Hakurankai 裏日本鉄道開通・新舞鶴鉄道開通・新舞鶴開港記念博覧会.

21 Maizuru-shi Shi Hensan Iinkai 1982, pp. 85–92.



Figure 4. One of an eight-postcard set for the Maizuru exposition. Titled “Eight-inch navy cannon installed in front of the second exhibition hall.” Author’s collection.

the warship *Azuma* 吾妻, ride a large 38-class submarine underwater, and watch a show featuring flying boats and mine detonations.<sup>22</sup> As shown in souvenir postcards (figure 4), the city used navy-related display pieces to promote the event. From the Meiji period through to prewar Showa, a multitude of different expositions were held all over Japan, but only an erstwhile naval city could stage an event of this type.

The 1923 exposition attracted 179,982 visitors over forty days and was strongly supported by the press. The official report states that, “Although naval facilities were the main attraction, the exposition would not have been as successful without the publicity generated with great kindness by the press.”<sup>23</sup>

In similar ways, other expositions in naval cities also enjoyed the full support of the navy, as in the 1935 event held in Kure.<sup>24</sup> Backed additionally by the army, this later exposition aimed to mobilize citizens behind national defense in the wake of the Manchurian (Mukden) Incident and Japan’s withdrawal from the League of Nations. It also exhibited warships and submarines, and showed torpedoes being fired and exploding under water. In order to gain popular support as the nation plunged into a state of war, therefore, the military utilized a style of exposition first trialed more than ten years prior in Maizuru.

### *Selling a Landscape*

Many prewar postcards of Maizuru also feature photographs of warships or the district naval base. One example is Maizuru Navy Port Postcards (*Maizuru gunkō ehagaki* 舞鶴軍港絵葉書), a set of twelve-postcards produced between 1918 and 1933 by the Imperial Military Promotion Society (Teikoku Gunji Fukyū Kai 帝国軍事普及会). They feature the base

<sup>22</sup> Maizuru-shi Shi Hensan Iinkai 1982, p. 91.

<sup>23</sup> Maizuru-shi Shi Hensan Iinkai 1982, p. 91.

<sup>24</sup> Uesugi 2014; Takahashi 2016.





Figure 5. Postcard of “Maizuru district naval base.” Author’s collection.

(figure 5) and the Marine Corps headquarters and marines at training. The navy, which was composed not of conscripts but volunteers, published these postcards partly for recruitment purposes.

As seen in figure 6, postcards also depicted visitors boarding the warship *Azuma*. The cruiser *Azuma*, first deployed during the Russo-Japanese War, was used for practice drills at the time of the exposition. Reflecting tourist interest in warships, the caption describes a “group of visitors flooding” onto the vessel. The postcard is stamped, “Maizuru Important Port. Commemorating visit to warship *Azuma*,” which indicates that it was purchased as a souvenir of its owner’s visit. A postcard with the same commemorative stamp (figure 7) shows the items displayed on the *Azuma* during the exhibition: a range of artillery shells; the overcoat and short-sword worn by Fujii Kōichi 藤井較一 when he captained the ship during the Russo-Japanese War; a submarine’s weaponry and periscope; and photos of an admiral’s office. Postcards also depict junior high school students on *Azuma* learning how to operate a warship. Thus, the navy utilized postcards to promote the *Azuma* as a tourism resource, in order to glorify Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War and train future recruits.

Postcards also depicted the tourist sites of Shin Maizuru. “Shin Maizuru fūkei” 新舞鶴風景, an eight-postcard set, which passed navy screening on 10 July 1924, includes photographs of a city modernized through the support of the navy, as well as the images of the naval fleet entering the port (figure 8). Such images demonstrate the unique tourism resources of a naval port city.

Accompanying naval recruitment efforts, and the industrialization of the city following its demotion to the status of “important port,” Shin Maizuru, a city of little immediate tourist appeal, began to attract tourists through its port, weaponry, and status as a naval city. Promotional postcards were produced at least until 1939, when Maizuru regained its status as district naval base, and these demonstrate interlinkages between the navy, the naval city, and tourism.



Figure 6. Postcard of “A group of visitors flooding onto warship *Azuma*.” Published by Ōsui Kai 桜水会. Author’s collection.



Figure 7. Postcard of “Warship *Azuma*. One part of the exhibit (a comparison of various artillery shells).” Published by Ōsui Kai. Author’s collection.



Figure 8. Postcard of “A View of the Arrival of a Naval Fleet into Maizuru Navy Port.” Author’s collection.

Kenneth Ruoff has revealed how tourism to sacred sites and battlefields in Korea and Manchuria prospered in the 1940s, concomitant with escalating nationalism.<sup>25</sup> As reflected in the production of postcards for Maizuru, however, which stopped with the outbreak of the Pacific War, tourism to Maizuru seems to have plummeted in the early 1940s. This reflects the city's return to a military economy: naval weapon factories reopened in 1936, and the port was restored to the status of district naval base. Another reason Maizuru did not continue to attract tourists is that it lacked sacred or battle sites that could mobilize citizens behind the military state.<sup>26</sup> Rather than perform as centers for nationalistic mass tourism, the role of Maizuru and other naval cities in fermenting patriotism was to produce loyal soldiers for the Imperial Navy.

Following defeat in the Asia-Pacific War, the Imperial Japanese Navy was dissolved. For a naval city, loss of the navy meant the loss of its very foundations. What tourism resources were available for Maizuru to draw on following the war? The answer to this question provides the central narrative for the rest of this paper.

### **The City of Repatriation: 1945–1980s**

#### *Imaging the Repatriation Port/Loss of its Landscape*

After the war, Maizuru port and facilities were repurposed for the repatriation of Japanese returning from the former empire and battlefields. Initially, several ports served this role, but these were reduced as the number of returnees decreased. Maizuru—well situated for the many Japanese returning from internment in Siberia—remained a port of reentry for thirteen years following the war. From 1950 to 1958, it was the sole port of repatriation.<sup>27</sup>

During this thirteen-year period, 346 ships carrying a total of 655,583 repatriates entered Maizuru port.<sup>28</sup> Facilities for processing repatriates were initially located in former naval buildings scattered around Maizuru Bay, but eventually they converged in the Taira 平 area, where barracks and other former Imperial Navy facilities were located. Repatriates were transported from their ship onto Taira pier, then processed at the Taira buildings by the Repatriation Support Office (Hikiage Engo Kyoku 引揚援護局). Many repatriates came to locate powerful emotions and memories of “homeland” return in these structures. Maizuru also became a place to wait for returning family members. As news of the arrival of a repatriation ship spread, people from across Japan gathered in Maizuru to await the return of loved ones. While these visitors, as much as the repatriates, were not tourists, their experiences in Maizuru helped shape their memories of the city and gave motivation for later return trips. As seen in figure 3, Maizuru did not attract a great number of tourists in the four decades following the war. Still, feelings of nostalgia among repatriates, family members, and others regarding Maizuru prompted many to revisit.

With the steady increase in repatriate numbers, the memory of Maizuru as a military port receded, and a strong association between Maizuru and repatriation emerged. Products

25 Ruoff 2010.

26 Maizuru-shi Shi Hensan Iinkai 1982; Yamagami 2010.

27 For more on recent research on postwar Japan through the experiences of repatriates interned in Siberia, see Barshay 2013 and Muminov 2017. On the influence of Soviet repatriates on Maizuru, see Maizuru-shi Shi Hensan Iinkai 1988, which states that disagreements at the government level and between repatriates over politics, perspectives, and treatment hindered repatriation management.

28 Maizuru Chihō Hikiage Engo Kyoku 1961.

of popular culture played an important role in this rewriting of collective memory, none more so than *Ganpeki no haha* 岸壁の母, a *kayōkyoku* 歌謡曲 pop song about a family that continued to revisit Maizuru in the hope of reuniting with a missing relative.<sup>29</sup> Kikuchi Akiko 菊池章子 released a version of the song in 1954 and performed it on NHK's popular New Year program *Kōhaku uta gassen* 紅白歌合戦 the following year. Many people felt sympathy for the grief-stricken family depicted in the song, and it eventually sold more than one million records.

In 1972, a new version of *Ganpeki no haha* by Futaba Yuriko 二葉百合子, rearranged in the *rōkyoku* 浪曲 genre of shamisen-accompanied narrative singing, became a massive hit, selling 2.5 million records.<sup>30</sup> This inspired a range of popular media that spread the image of Maizuru as city of repatriation, including a film adaptation of the song in 1976, and a television series in 1977. Futaba's version was released twenty-seven years after the end of the war, and fourteen years since Maizuru's role as repatriation port had ended. This song became a hit, then, at a time when most repatriates had regained stability in their lives and many had reached retirement, thus having more leisure time. The popularity of *Ganpeki no haha*, which made Maizuru increasingly central to their memories of repatriation, encouraged many repatriates to visit the city.

However, most of the buildings which repatriates hoped to visit in order to recall this past had been dismantled. A sixty-one-year-old retired man, whose "wish came true" when he revisited Maizuru in August 1987, wrote that, "I felt sad as nothing remains today, just a sign marking where the repatriation pier had been."<sup>31</sup> Another man who visited in September 1990 wrote that, "I was overcome with sorrow when I gazed down from the memorial park and saw that Taira pier—the first step onto the homeland for internees from Siberia—repatriates' housing, and other vestiges of this past had disappeared without a trace."<sup>32</sup>

The Taira pier and housing for repatriates were abandoned and had begun to deteriorate after the repatriation period. The City of Maizuru, as part of its policy of industrialization, cleared the expansive land that had accommodated repatriation-related buildings in 1967 for redevelopment into a complex of timber factories. At the time, the city did not consider conserving repatriation heritage; this was an era in which it prioritized industrial development.

#### *Creation of Commemorative Spaces*

Soon after the buildings associated with the repatriation were destroyed, however, the city began work on constructing a space of commemoration:

Maizuru is developing each year as a port city of peace and industry. The former Repatriation Support Offices have been replaced by industrial facilities, and the last three office buildings used during repatriation were removed on 3 July 1969. Today, nothing is left to tell the truth of the repatriation and remind us of its past.

29 Uesugi 2010.

30 Osada 2002.

31 Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan 1994, p. 269.

32 Hikiage o Kinen Suru Maizuru Zenkoku Tomo no Kai 1998, p. 19.





Figure 9. Statue of Peace. Photo by author.

On this occasion of the removal of the final building used by the Support Office, we construct in Maizuru—a city symbolizing for many repatriates their return to the homeland—the commemorative park and Statue of Peace [...]

Inscribed on the base of the Statue of Peace erected in 1970 (figure 9) is this statement by the Maizuru mayor. It chronicles Maizuru's shift to industrialization, which was driven by the mayor himself, and the city's construction of a commemorative park and monuments to replace this lost heritage. The park is located on a nearby hill overlooking the timber factories that are situated on the site of the former Taira pier and repatriation offices. While this location has no direct relationship to the postwar return of Japanese, the park emerged as the center of repatriation memorialization, in which repatriate organizations planted trees, and placed stones and other commemorative markers.

The construction of the Repatriation Memorial Museum (Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan 舞鶴引揚記念館) was a particularly important turning point in this process of memorialization. Learning of repatriates' feelings of loss on visiting the city, Maizuru citizens appealed to the city government to build a replica of the Taira pier and host a national assembly for repatriates. This movement reached a peak in 1985, the fortieth anniversary of the beginning of the repatriation, and eventually prompted the city to convene a national assembly and construct a memorial museum within the park for the preservation of important documents. The museum opened in April 1988 with the goal of passing on "the historical facts of the tragedy of war and misery of the repatriates." It featured an exhibition with models of internment in Siberia and the course of repatriation.<sup>33</sup>

Visitor numbers to the museum gradually increased, and by the early 1990s had reached approximately 200,000 people a year. A replica of Taira pier was constructed in 1994; although in a different location and on a smaller scale than the original, it was warmly

33 Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan 2007, p. 1.

welcomed by repatriates. After revisiting the city in April 1995, the man quoted earlier who had visited Maizuru in 1990 wrote of being greatly moved by the replica of Taira pier: “It helped me recall what repatriation was like.”<sup>34</sup>

While repatriates were satisfied by these new commemorative spaces, visitor numbers to the museum and related sites gradually diminished. As the generation of repatriates aged, there was decreased interest in repatriation-related sites and events, as well as the closure of repatriate organizations across Japan. At a ceremony to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the repatriation in 2005, a resolution was passed to dissolve Japan’s national repatriate organization (Hikiage o Kinen Suru Maizuru, Zenkoku Tomo no Kai 引揚を記念する舞鶴・全国友の会); it had become impossible to continue running the organization due to the aging of members.

Memories of the repatriation began to wane as a result of generational change and the passage of time. Table 1 shows the number of Tokyo *Asahi* articles from 1945 to 2015 that have “Maizuru” in the headline, and the number of these that report on repatriation. Between the 1940s and 1950s, an equivalence formed between Maizuru and repatriation, so that almost all articles featuring Maizuru were about repatriation. In the forty-five years between 1960 and the sixtieth anniversary of the repatriation in 2005, the *Asahi* carried only four articles that linked Maizuru to repatriation. It did not cover the sixtieth anniversary.

Due to the aging of repatriates and the fading of memories, visitor numbers to the Repatriation Memorial Museum continued to decline. Three articles published in the Tokyo edition of the *Asahi* after 2014, however, did cover Maizuru and repatriation. These reflect a new shift in Maizuru’s tourism that I will return to later.

### Redbrick Scenery: 1990s–2000s

#### *The “Discovery” of Redbrick Buildings*

Beginning in the 1990s, modern heritage became recognized within Japan’s official system for classifying cultural assets. Propelled by the Agency for Cultural Affairs’ 1990 survey of Japan’s modern heritage, interest in modern architecture and construction spread among the general populace, and began to be utilized in regional development projects.<sup>35</sup>

In this context, Maizuru began to develop new tourism resources. The unearthing of historical assets in Higashi Maizuru and Naka Maizuru 中舞鶴, two areas previously seen to lack touristic appeal, enabled new ways for the city to represent itself.<sup>36</sup> The most dramatic and symbolic of these new representations was the “discovery” of redbrick buildings. In March 1989, several city employees, considering how to develop the city, visited Yokohama, a city with trade-port roots. At the time, the City of Yokohama was planning to utilize its redbrick buildings in tourism through the development of a park precinct around bayside redbrick warehouses. Led by those who had visited Yokohama, the City of Maizuru then set about preserving and utilizing Maizuru’s many redbrick buildings.<sup>37</sup> That December, a light-up event was conducted at a redbrick warehouse adjoining the city hall, a building that previously had gone largely unappreciated—either historically or aesthetically—by

34 Hikiage o Kinen Suru Maizuru Zenkoku Tomo no Kai 1998, p. 19.

35 Kitagawa and Goto 2007.

36 For more on the relationship between the discovery of heritage and the formation of regional identity, see Ashworth and Larkham 1994.

37 Baba et al. 2000.

Table 1. Reporting of Maizuru and repatriation in the Tokyo *Asahi shinbun*.

Time period	Articles with “Maizuru” in title	Of these, articles on repatriation.
1945–1949	16	16
1950–1954	51	51
1955–1959	42	42
1960–1964	14	1
1965–1969	9	0
1970–1974	11	0
1975–1979	6	0
1980–1984	4	1
1985–1989	2	1
1990–1995	14	1
1996–2000	9	0
2001–2005	19	0
2006–2010	30	0
2011–2015	16	3

locals. This event both literally and figuratively illuminated a new approach to the area’s rejuvenation.<sup>38</sup>

City officials identified many redbrick buildings within Maizuru, most of which were former facilities of the Imperial Navy. The discovery in 1990 of a rare Hoffman kiln was especially influential in attracting national attention and further arousing local interest in redbrick architecture. Following this, the city saved from demolition a long-abandoned former torpedo warehouse located near the city hall. In 1991, they designated it a city cultural asset, and two years later reopened it as the Maizuru World Brick Museum (Akarenga Hakubutsukan 赤れんが博物館) (figure 10).

A citizens’ group for research into and preservation of the city’s redbrick architecture was soon established. Similar organizations had emerged in Yokohama and other parts of Japan, and they now formed a national network for sharing information and spreading interest in the value of this architectural style. They held an inaugural symposium in Maizuru in 1990 which attracted more than two hundred people from nineteen cities across Japan. Maizuru mayor, Machii Masato 町井正登, told delegates that:

---

38 Uesugi 2011.



Figure 10. Museum entrance. Courtesy of the Maizuru World Brick Museum.

Until now, redbrick buildings were considered a hindrance to the city's development; however, this is a mistake. Seeing people from so many different cities visiting the redbrick buildings of Maizuru has made me realize that these are actually precious assets. From now on I would like to put these redbrick buildings to good use.<sup>39</sup>

Transformation of the meaning of buildings—from hindrance to asset—became a key tactic in municipal development and tourism strategy plans from the 1990s through to the 2000s. In 1994, the former torpedo warehouse was developed into the Maizuru City Commemoration Hall, the Hoffman kiln was registered as a national cultural heritage site in 1997, and a group of seven brick warehouses were registered as important national cultural assets in 2008.

Baba Hideo 馬場英男 and other leaders of the preservation movement explained that appreciation for redbrick architecture increased so dramatically over this short period because, “Locals wanted to replace the gloomy ‘repatriation’ image of their city with the impression of a warm ‘city of redbrick.’”<sup>40</sup> With the gloomy grey “city of repatriation” replaced by the warm red “city of redbrick,” color played an important symbolic role in this transformation.

What, however, does this “warm image” signify? Unlike Yokohama and Otaru, cities with trade origins that also utilized their redbrick architecture in tourism, Maizuru is a former base of the Imperial Navy. Should former naval buildings or ammunition factories be assigned a warm and positive image? This question aside, Maizuru was able to market itself in this way by borrowing from the redbrick branding techniques of these commercial cities. The City of Maizuru did not promote its redbrick buildings as unique, therefore, but affiliated them with a nationwide sentiment associating redbrick with warmth, romance, and nostalgia.<sup>41</sup> It appears that city and preservation organization leaders did not deliberately

39 Baba et al. 2000, p. 42.

40 Baba et al. 2000, p. 49.

41 Uesugi 2011.



or explicitly link these buildings to Maizuru's naval past. Indeed, contemporary public hearings about this issue suggest that those involved were largely unaware of Imperial Navy associations. For many Maizuru citizens, the relationship between the group of redbrick buildings and the Imperial Navy was self-evident; for some residents, these buildings were an obstacle to redevelopment and should be demolished. It is precisely for this reason that Maizuru's "discovery" of redbrick buildings via trade ports such as Yokohama, and their reevaluation by city leaders and residents, marks such an important turning point in how Maizuru related to its naval past through tourism.

### *Augmented Images*

More than one hundred redbrick buildings have been identified in Maizuru. However, the central place for the touristic reimagination of Maizuru consists of a group of brick warehouses near the city hall, featuring the World Brick Museum and City Commemoration Hall. As the city worked to preserve and repurpose these buildings, it also began planning several events around them. The first of these was the Redbrick Summer Jazz Festival (figure 11). This featured Yamashita Yōsuke 山下洋輔 in its inaugural year in 1991, and it has hosted world-renowned artists like Kenny Burrell and Jackie McLean, and has grown to become one of the best-known jazz festivals in Japan.

Those involved in the preservation of Maizuru's redbrick buildings came up with the idea of a jazz festival from a personal interest in jazz. This may have been because bricks reminded them of jazz or because they associated the American navy with jazz. However, there are no historical links between jazz and Maizuru's naval history or its redbrick buildings. In this sense, jazz events did not emerge organically in Maizuru, but were consciously added as a supplement to the city's brand image. The jazz festival foregrounded the city's redbrick architecture, and demonstrated its efficacy as a stage for such newly fabricated events.

The Redbrick Festival in Maizuru (*Akarenga fesuta in Maizuru* 赤れんがフェスタ in 舞鶴), which began in 1995, is another touristic event held in the same redbrick setting. Cuisine, one of the three themes of the festival, illustrates best the relationship between the navy and tourism in Maizuru at the time. In 1988, a television show announced that *niku jaga* 肉じゃが, a fixture of modern Japanese cuisine, had been discovered in an Imperial Navy cookbook.<sup>42</sup> Aware that the recipe book was located in Maizuru, from 1995 local residents began promoting the city as the "birthplace" of *niku jaga*. Held in the same year, the first Redbrick Festival featured a sub-event on *niku jaga*.<sup>43</sup> Members of the festival's executive committee dressed up in costumes reminiscent of the navy, with its chairman performing as first Commander-in-Chief of the Maizuru District Naval Base and hero of the Imperial Navy, Tōgō Heihachirō.

Two years later, Kure administrators asserted that Tōgō had been in Kure before he ever went to Maizuru, and began promoting their city as the birthplace of *niku jaga*. Subsequent discussions between the municipalities led to the establishment of so-called "navy cuisine" (*kaigun gurume* 海軍グルメ) as an effective new tourism resource for naval cities. Following this, Yokosuka, Kure, Sasebo, and Maizuru each "discovered" links to the origins of curry, hamburgers, beef stew, and other forms of navy cuisine, and utilized them

<sup>42</sup> Takamori 2006.

<sup>43</sup> Maizuru Nikujaga Matsuri Jikkō Iinkai.



Figure 11. Redbrick Summer Jazz Festival. Courtesy of NPO MCA.

in tourism promotion. From 1999, the four former naval cities began exchanging ideas on naval cuisine at inter-city meetings.

As Maizuru's redbrick building precinct became an established venue for jazz and cuisine-related events, the Imperial Navy reemerged as a central element of tourism in the city. As the navy was a taboo topic in Maizuru, however, the board of tourism made little direct reference to it in tourism promotion in the 1990s. In interviews that I conducted between October 2010 and February 2011, Iba Setsuko 伊庭節子, a volunteer guide and member of a Maizuru citizen's organization that promotes *niku jaga*, reported her initial discomfort at Kure's use of the term "navy" in its "navy man's (*kaigunsan no* 海軍さんの) *niku jaga*" campaign. Thus, even though Maizuru promoted itself as the birthplace of *niku jaga*, there was an unspoken understanding in the 1990s that the word "navy" should be avoided. However, following Yokusuka's launching of its "navy curry" marketing campaign, and through discussion with other navy cities, Maizuru began its own promotion of navy cuisine. Discussing later tourism to Maizuru in her interview, Iba acknowledged that interest in the navy and demand for navy-related tours had grown in the latter part of the first decade of the twenty-first century, and she no longer felt discomfort in referring to things as "navy-related."

Throughout the 1990s and into the start of the new century, therefore, explicit reference to the navy remained taboo in Maizuru's tourism marketing even while the city projected an image of romance and nostalgia centered on the city's redbrick architecture, jazz, and *niku jaga*. However, the successful promotion of these jazz and navy-food related events gradually helped weaken this taboo.

### A Navy-Related City

#### *Tourism Branding*

With the announcement of a new tourism campaign in 2008, Maizuru began to develop and market a new city brand centered around redbrick and the sea/port. A tourism poster



Figure 12. Maizuru Tourism Association poster (2009). Courtesy of the City of Maizuru.

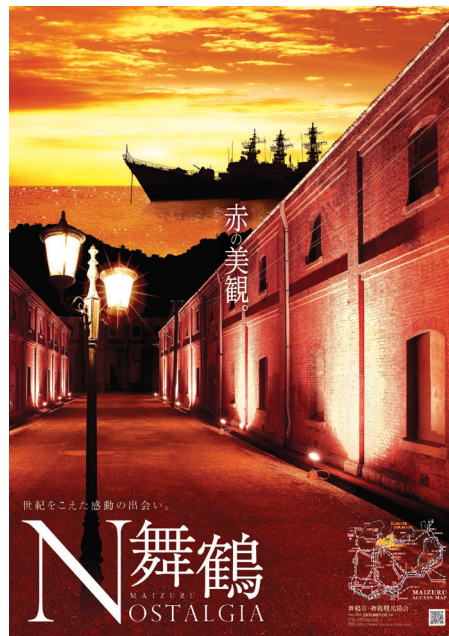


Figure 13. Maizuru Tourism Association poster (2010). Courtesy of the City of Maizuru.

released in January 2009 effectively linked these two motifs using color-coded catchphrases: “Historical Red: The Throb of One-hundred Years”; “Romantic Blue: Emotion Surpassing a Century” (figure 12).

The following year, individual posters for each color were released in addition to the dual-colored version. “The Beauty of Red” poster features the word “Nostalgia” in English; in the foreground is a large image of brick buildings, and in the background the silhouette of a JMSDF ship on a red sea that reflects the sunset (figure 13). Seen through the “Historical Red” concept of its tourism marketing campaign, the contours of this ship cannot help but evoke the form of an Imperial Navy warship. Compared to tourism promotion of the 1990s, in which the navy was a taboo subject, this reference is relatively explicit. As Tsutsui Kazunobu 筒井一伸 points out, here the navy and JMSDF are utilized as a tourism resource and incorporated into city branding.<sup>44</sup>

Perhaps the first overt use of the navy in postwar Maizuru tourism, however, was in 2008, when a business with strong connections to the Maizuru Tourism Association began offering a navy-related bay cruise. The cruise, which continues today, departs from a pier adjacent to the Brick Museum, travels through the sites of the former Imperial district naval base and ammunition factories, and provides a close-up view of JMSDF ships docked at the Kitasui 北吸 pier (figure 14). Onboard volunteer guides who explain sights such as the shipyard and escort ships are members of the Maizuru Suikō Kai 舞鶴水交会, an association of former JMSDF personnel. The cruise business began around the same time that the

44 Tsutsui 2010.



Figure 14. Photo used to promote the Maizuru Bay Pleasure Boat Tour. Courtesy of Maizuru Tourism Association.

cultural value of the city's redbrick buildings became established. In 2007, a building adjacent to the City Commemoration Hall was redeveloped as the Maizuru Chiegura まいづる智恵蔵, or "Wisdom Warehouse." Then in 2008, the warehouses of the former district naval base were nationally designated as Important Cultural Properties, providing additional impetus for preservation efforts.

Tourist numbers increased from about 1,202,000 in 2005 to 2,290,000 in 2015 (see figure 3). This increase reflects the temporary suspension of road tolls in 2010, and the opening of a direct highway from Kyoto in 2015, but also demonstrates the success of the redbrick and sea/port tourism campaign. The establishment in 2012 of Brick Park (舞鶴赤れんがパーク), which incorporated Maizuru's central redbrick warehouses, was especially effective in crystalizing the red and blue color symbolism at the core of this tourism campaign. Brick Park provided the central stage for the 2012 Sea Festival (*umi festa* 海フェスタ), a series of events, promoted across Japan, held in Maizuru and the northern Kyoto prefectural region on Marine Day, a national holiday in July. This popular festival, which linked the red of Brick Park and the blue of the sea as part of the larger tourism campaign, helped enhance Maizuru's national standing.

#### *Heritagizing "Red" and "Blue"*

Maizuru has engaged with two new categories of heritage in recent years: Japan Heritage (*Nihon isan* 日本遺産) and UNESCO's Memory of the World. The registration of Maizuru's heritage with these two institutions reflects how contemporary Maizuru relates to its naval past and utilizes it for tourism.

Japan Heritage are sites recognized by the Agency for Cultural Affairs that "tell the story of Japan's culture and tradition through the historical attractions and characteristics



of regions.”<sup>45</sup> In parallel with the other three former Imperial Navy cities, the facilities, documents, and scenery relating to Maizuru’s modernization were designated as Japan Heritage in 2016.<sup>46</sup> The website of the Agency for Cultural Affairs explains that:

There was an urgent need in the Meiji period for Japan to strengthen its coastal defense forces to compete as a modern state with Western powers. In response, the nation chose four outstanding natural harbors to develop into naval ports. In formerly quiet farming and fishing villages they immediately gathered personnel and cutting-edge technology and constructed naval institutions, waterways, railways, and other infrastructure. This gave birth to four naval port cities that furthered Japan’s modernization. With many facilities still in use after more than one hundred years, these naval cities that maintain the dynamism of times past are somehow nostalgic and powerful (*dokoka natsukashiku mo takumashiku* どこか懐かしくも逞しく) and continue to attract visitors.<sup>47</sup>

This description makes clear both the context in which the naval cities were established, and the fact that many vestiges of modernization remain there today. The “nostalgia” mentioned here is likely that for redbrick, while “powerful” refers to the size of the naval bases and ammunition factory buildings, the labor employed there, and most of all, the navy itself. Tellingly, however, the focus of this narrative is on the birth of the naval cities, while the subsequent development of the cities, and the Imperial Navy that once called them home, are not touched upon. Where the navy went during war, what type of combat they performed, the extent to which the port cities were bombed, and other such information remains out of view. The “nostalgic and powerful” feelings inspired by “dynamism of times past” are references to wartime navy battles, or perhaps to cityscapes born through the process of persistent modernization.

Japan Heritage is highly conscious of the tourism industry, and the narrative it employs about the navy cities illustrates several key points regarding tourism/war relations in Japan. First, it is difficult to speak directly about modern wars through tourism narratives. For example, sites of premodern domestic wars have been developed as tourist attractions, and castle towns that formed around castles and once contained garrisons—such as World Heritage-listed Himeji Castle—have become centers of tourism throughout Japan. Hiroshima, another World Heritage site, draws on its atomic-bomb history and postwar reconstruction as a city of peace to attract tourists, but this narrative conceals its prewar and wartime role as a central army base, a military city.<sup>48</sup> Likewise, the heritage narrative of the four naval cities also involves an erasure of war.

Second, the way in which heritage narratives relate to military histories differs greatly between cities such as Hiroshima and the naval cities. Unlike these, the description of naval cities provided by Japan Heritage directly references documents, batteries, ports, and other buildings attesting to its military past. The contemporary naval city—Maizuru included—locates its identity in confronting its naval history, not in turning away from it. However,

<sup>45</sup> Agency for Cultural Affairs.

<sup>46</sup> Kyūgunkōshi Nihon Isan Katsuyō Suishin Kyōgikai 2017.

<sup>47</sup> Agency for Cultural Affairs.

<sup>48</sup> Fukuma 2011; Yamaguchi 2012; see Zwigenberg’s article in this special issue.



Figure 15. *Shirakaba nissshi* journal (author's photo). Registered with Memory of the World. Courtesy of Maizuru Repatriation Memorial Museum.

these cities do not draw on war itself as a tourism resource, but on the history of the Imperial Navy from which the cities originated.

In 2015, the Maizuru Repatriation Archive (Maizuru e no seikan 1945–1956 Shiberia yokuryū tō Nihonjin no hongoku e no hikiage no kioku 舞鶴への生還1945–1956シベリア抑留等日本人の本国への引き揚げの記録) was registered as part of UNESCO's Memory of the World.<sup>49</sup> It consists of 570 documents regarding internment in Siberia and repatriation, including the journal, *Shirakaba nissshi* 白樺日誌 (figure 15), chosen from a total of some 16,000 preserved at the Repatriation Memorial Museum.<sup>50</sup> The museum describes these as records of “precious experiences that became a cornerstone of Japanese people's hopes for a world without war,” and as important memories of war that must be conveyed to subsequent generations.<sup>51</sup> The description on the UNESCO website reads:

When the Japanese Empire collapsed due to defeat in World War II in 1945, an estimated 600,000 to 800,000 Japanese military personnel and civilians were interned in labour camps in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The Maizuru Repatriation Memorial Museum has a unique and extensive collection of materials related to the internment and the survivors' repatriation from 1945 to 1956.<sup>52</sup>

49 Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan.

50 This includes the diary *Shirakaba nissshi* 白樺日誌 (figure 15), which both in its description of the daily life of internees, and the use of white birch bark for paper and soot as ink, is a testament to the harsh conditions of internment in Siberia that many repatriates overcame.

51 Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan.

52 UNESCO.

As the generation of post-repatriation Japanese aged, visitors to Maizuru's museum became fewer and the repatriation receded from the collective memory. In the first half of the 2010s, visitor numbers to the museum shrank to less than half of the two-hundred thousand recorded at its peak in the early 1990s. After taking over the management of the museum in 2012, the city began the process of petitioning for Memory of the World registration as one way to transmit knowledge about the repatriation. They also reformed the permanent exhibition, added a new seminar room, and started renovating the museum. Media coverage of the UNESCO registration and improvements to the museum stimulated renewed interest in the repatriation, and this has prompted an increase in visitor numbers over recent years. This process of heritagization, therefore, demonstrates how cities can successfully utilize the heritage recognition provided by national and international institutions—here Japan Heritage and UNESCO—in their tourism promotion strategy.

### *Cool Japan and the Navy*

Finally, I would like to discuss the recent growth of electronic gaming and anime-inspired contents tourism in Maizuru. This tourism is part of the popularity of *Kantai korekushon* 艦隊これくしょん (War fleet collection; abbreviated as *Kankore*), a browser game in which players lead fleets of *kanmusu* 艦娘 (warship girls)—warships personified as cute, young, female characters (*moe kyara* 萌えキャラ)—through war. This browser game was launched in 2013, and according to the official website has more than 4.3 million registered users as of April 2017. Through its development into manga, anime, and film, *Kankore* has spread to an even wider audience. *Kankore*, therefore, is a quintessential product of the Cool Japan culture the Japanese government has attempted to promote internationally.

Through the browser game, players become highly familiar not only with the names of warships, but also of district bases and other locations connected to the Imperial Navy. There is a manga series too, and it also uses the names of the four former district naval bases, further blurring the lines between a virtual, fictional world and reality. Similar to the pilgrimage to sacred sites often seen in contents tourism, there is currently a movement among *Kankore* fans to visit the naval cities.<sup>53</sup> In the 2018 edition of a list of eighty-eight “sacred sites” of anime, for example, Maizuru was chosen to represent *Kankore*.<sup>54</sup> Another reason for the touristic appeal of these cities is that, as home to the district bases of the JMSDF and their fleets, they also allow people to see actual naval vessels. Evidently, interest in warships of the former Imperial Navy through their *kanmusu* personifications, and in the former naval ports as locations featured in *Kankore*, is closely tied to the practices of Maizuru tourism today.

A group of residents began to promote Maizuru actively to *Kankore* fans and overtly tie *Kankore* to Maizuru tourism. In February 2014, they brought a comic market for fanzines (*dōjinshi* 同人誌) of *Kankore* to the city. This market has since been held roughly twice a year, and, according to Maizuru-based NPO MCA, attracted eight thousand visitors in July 2016.

Importantly, the comic market is held in the complex of former Imperial Navy redbrick buildings. Stalls sell food such as *niku jaga*-style croquette, and a *kaizen* 海鮮 bowl

53 Okamoto 2015. For more on navy-related contents tourism in Japan, see Philip Seaton's article in this volume.

54 Anime Tourism Association.



Figure 16. *Kankore* fans at the Maizuru fanzine market. Courtesy of NPO MCA.

of rice topped with fish that, in a play of words, uses characters meaning “naval battle” (*kaisen* 海戦). This results in multiple layers of “contents tourism”: content from *Kankore* online games and anime inspires visitors to dress as *kanmusu*, who walk around redbrick buildings that mark the city’s naval history, and eat naval-content food. Through integrating differing forms of contents tourism that share a naval narrative, the comic market has led to the creation and consumption of a new form of Maizuru tourism.

While *Kankore* has provided new material for Maizuru tourism in the 2010s, it differs greatly from the jazz tourism of the 1990s. Planners of the jazz festival did not directly link jazz with the navy, but simply designed an event where visitors could listen to jazz in the surroundings of Maizuru’s redbrick buildings. In contrast, *Kankore* draws heavily on the actual names of the Maizuru Imperial Navy base and warships, and the comic market uses the redbrick buildings not as spaces of romance and nostalgia, but as naval relics. In other words, while it utilized its naval heritage cautiously in the 1990s, Maizuru is now actively using the navy to market a new tourism image of the city, of which *Kankore* is a centerpiece.

## Conclusion

This paper has examined transformations in Maizuru’s tourism and promotion strategy from the founding of the district naval base in 1901 until the present day. As a largely modern city, Shin Maizuru only had modern, navy-related attractions and little premodern heritage to draw upon before the Pacific War. Fearing the city would decline due to its demotion from district naval base to “important port” in 1923, the City of Maizuru hosted a navy-supported exhibition whose primary attraction was Imperial Navy warships. The city utilized the navy as a tourism resource in other ways, as demonstrated in postcards that feature naval facilities.

Maizuru’s postwar tourism strategy can be divided into three periods: first, that of repatriation; second, that of the discovery and marketing of redbrick buildings; third, that



of promoting a brand based on redbrick buildings and the sea/port. In each period, Maizuru tried to represent itself in ways that would attract tourists while responding to shifting sociopolitical contexts. The gradual change in this self-representation across the postwar period reveals a mnemonic process in which Maizuru re-remembered its own naval history. Its self-promotion as a navy-related city, which seems so natural today, is a phenomenon that emerged only in the twenty-first century, after the city felt able to give expression to its naval past following its “discovery” of redbrick buildings and *niku jaga*. Social change has also been important: over the seventy years since the end of World War II the Imperial Navy and modern wars involving Japan have slid from recent memory into history.

As the emergence of naval cuisine and the construction of the Yamato Museum in Kure demonstrate, similar trends can be observed in the other former naval cities. These cities share the same strategy of developing a unique regional brand by drawing on a naval past. However, as this paper has shown, such branding has not been entirely uniform across the cities, and further comparative research is needed.

I would like to conclude with a comment on the future of Maizuru tourism. Clues to this may lie in the recent heritagization of sites, and the development of contents tourism around *Kankore*. It is also possible that these modern forms of tourism could be coupled with premodern attractions such as Tanabe Castle and Matsunoo-dera. Whatever happens, it is likely that Maizuru will continue to be a barometer not only of the relationship between tourism and the navy, but also between tourism and war more generally in contemporary Japan.

## REFERENCES

### Agency for Cultural Affairs

Agency for Cultural Affairs 文化庁. “Kore made ni nintei saretā ‘Nihon isan’ ichiran” これまでに認定された「日本遺産」一覧. Available at <http://www.bunka.go.jp/> (Accessed 28 April 2017).

### Anime Tourism Association

Anime Tourism Association. “Otozurete mitai Nihon no anime seichi 88 (2018 nen ban) risuto” 訪れてみたい日本のアニメ聖地88 (2018年版) リスト. Available at <https://animetourism88.com/> (Accessed 22 September 2017).

### Asahi Shinbunsha

Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社. Asahi shinbun kiji dētābēsu: Kikuzō II bijuaru 朝日新聞記事データベース: 聞蔵IIビジュアル. Available at [database.asahi.com/index.shtml](http://database.asahi.com/index.shtml).

### Ashworth and Larkham 1994

G. J. Ashworth and P. J. Larkham, eds. *Building a New Heritage: Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe*. Routledge, 1994.

### Baba et al. 2000

Baba Hideo 馬場英男 et al., eds. *Akarenga nettowāku: “Maizuru Yokohama” monogatari* 赤煉瓦ネットワーク: 【舞鶴・横浜】物語. Kōshokuken, 2000.

### Barshay 2013

Andrew Barshay. *The Gods Left First: The Captivity and Repatriation of Japanese POWs in Northeast Asia, 1945–1956*. University of California Press, 2013.

Foote 2003

Kenneth E. Foote. *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*. Rev. ed. University of Texas Press, 2003.

Fukuma 2011

Fukuma Yoshiaki 福岡良明. *Shōdo no kioku: Okinawa, Hiroshima, Nagasaki ni utsuru sengo* 焦土の記憶: 沖縄・広島・長崎に映る戦後. Shinyōsha, 2011.

Fukuma, Yamaguchi, and Yoshimura 2012

Fukuma Yoshiaki, Yamaguchi Makoto 山口誠, and Yoshimura Kazuma 吉村和真, eds. *Fukusū no "Hiroshima": Kioku no sengoshi to media no rikigaku* 複数の「ヒロシマ」: 記憶の戦後史とメディアの力学. Seikyūsha, 2012.

Gonzalez 2013

Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez. *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai'i and the Philippines*. Duke University Press, 2013.

Hikiage o Kinen Suru Maizuru Zenkoku Tomo no Kai 1998

Hikiage o Kinen Suru Maizuru Zenkoku Tomo no Kai 引揚を記念する舞鶴・全国友の会, ed. *Heiwa e no hitokoto dengon: Dai 2 shū* 平和への一言伝言: 第2集. Hikiage o Kinen Suru Maizuru Zenkoku Tomo no Kai, 1998.

Iizuka 2010

Iizuka Kazuyuki 飯塚一幸. "Nichiro sengo no Maizuru chinjufu to Maizuru kō" 日露戦後の舞鶴鎮守府と舞鶴港. In Sakane 2010, pp. 91–127.

Kawanishi 2014

Kawanishi Hidemichi 河西英通, ed. *Gunkōtoshi shi kenkyū 3: Kure ben* 軍港都市史研究 3: 呉編. Seibundō, 2014.

Kitagawa and Goto 2007

Kitagawa Daijirō 北河大次郎 and Gotō Osamu 後藤治, eds. *Zusetsu, Nihon no kindai isan* 図説・日本の近代化遺産. Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2007.

Kitazawa 2008

Kitazawa Mitsuru 北澤満, ed. *Gunkōtoshi shi kenkyū 5: Sasebo ben* 軍港都市史研究 5: 佐世保編. Seibundō, 2018.

Kure-shi

Kure-shi 呉市. "Kure-shi tōkeisho (nendo betsu)" 呉市の統計書 (年度別). Available at <https://www.city.kure.lg.jp/soshiki/36/data1.html/> (Accessed 14 September 2018).

Kyūgunkōshi Nihon Isan Katsuyō Suishin Kyōgikai 2017

Kyūgunkōshi Nihon Isan Katsuyō Suishin Kyōgikai 旧軍港市日本遺産活用推進協議会. *Chinjufu Yokosuka, Kure, Sasebo, Maizuru: Nihon kindai no yakudō o taikan dekiru machi* 鎮守府 横須賀・呉・佐世保・舞鶴: 日本近代化の躍動を体感できるまち. Kyūgunkōshi Nihon Isan Katsuyō Suishin Kyōgikai, 2017.

Maizuru Chihō Hikiage Engo Kyoku 1961

Maizuru Chihō Hikiage Engo Kyoku 舞鶴地方引揚援護局, ed. *Maizuru chihō hikiage engo kyoku shi* 舞鶴地方引揚援護局史. Kōsei Shō Hikiage Engo Kyoku, 1961.

Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan

Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan 舞鶴引揚記念館. "Sekai kioku isan" 世界記憶遺産. Available at <https://m-hikiage-museum.jp/> (Accessed 28 April 2017).

Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan 1994

Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan, ed. *Hikiage shuki: Watashi no hikiage (gekan)* 引揚手記: 私の引き揚げ(下巻). Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan, 1994.

Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan 2007

Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan, ed. *Maizuru hikiage kinenkan zuroku: Haha naru Maizuru kō* 舞鶴引揚記念館図録: 母なる舞鶴港. Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan, 2007.

Maizuru Nikujaga Matsuri Jikkō Inkai

Maizuru Nikujaga Matsuri Jikkō Inkai 舞鶴肉じゃが祭り実行委員会. “Kore made no omona katsudō” これまでの主な活動. Available at <http://www.nikujiyaga.info/> (Accessed 5 May 2017).

Maizuru-shi

Maizuru-shi 舞鶴市. “Maizuru-shi tōkeisho” 舞鶴市統計書. Available at <http://www.city.maizuru.kyoto.jp/shisei/category/3-17-3-0-0.html/> (Accessed 14 September 2018).

Maizuru-shi Shi Hensan Inkai 1982

Maizuru-shi Shi Hensan Inkai 舞鶴市史編さん委員会, ed. *Maizuru-shi shi: Tsūshi hen ge* 舞鶴市史: 通史編下. Maizuru Shiyakusho, 1982.

Maizuru-shi Shi Hensan Inkai 1988

Maizuru-shi Shi Hensan Inkai, ed. *Maizuru-shi shi: Gendai hen* 舞鶴市史: 現代編. Maizuru Shiyakusho, 1988.

Miyazaki 1922

Miyazaki Saishō 宮崎最勝, ed. *Shin Maizuru annai* 新舞鶴案内. Shinmaizuru-chō Yakuba, 1922.

Motoyasu 2002

Motoyasu Hiroshi 本康宏史. *Gunto no irei kūkan: Kokumin tōgō to senshisha tachi* 軍都の慰霊空間: 国民統合と戦死者たち. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2002.

Muminov 2017

Sherzod Muminov. “Imperial Revenants to Cold War Victims: ‘Red Repatriates’ from the Soviet Union and the Making of the New Japan, 1949–1952.” *Cold War History* 17:4 (2017), pp. 425–42.

Okamoto 2015

Okamoto Takeshi 岡本健, ed. *Contentsu tsūrizumu kenkyū: Jōhō shakai no kankō kōdō to chiiki shinkō* コンテンツツーリズム研究: 情報社会の観光行動と地域振興. Fukumura Shuppan, 2015.

Ōmameuda 2017

Ōmameuda Minoru 大豆生田稔, ed. *Gunkōtoshi shi kenkyū 7: Kokunai, kaigai gunkō hen* 軍港都市史研究7: 国内・海外軍港編. Seibundō, 2017.

Osada 2002

Osada Gyōji 長田暁二. *Kayōkyoku omoshiro kobore banashi* 歌謡曲おもしろこぼれ話. Sekaishisō Sha, 2002.

Ruoff 2010

Kenneth J. Ruoff. *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith: The Wartime Celebration of the Empire’s 2,600th Anniversary*. Cornell University Press, 2010.

Sakane 2010

Sakane Yoshihiro 坂根嘉弘, ed. *Gunkōtoshi shi kenkyū 1: Maizuru hen* 軍港都市史研究1: 舞鶴編. Seibundō, 2010.

Sakane 2016

Sakane Yoshihiro, ed. *Gunkōtoshi shi kenkyū 6: Yōkōbu hen* 軍港都市史研究6: 要港部編. Seibundō, 2016.

Sasebo-shi

Sasebo-shi 佐世保市. “Tōkei pōtaru saito” 統計ポータルサイト. Available at <http://www.city.sasebo.lg.jp/kikaku/seisak/toukeiportal.html/> (Accessed 14 September 2018).

Shirakawa 2015

Shirakawa Tetsuo 白川哲夫. “*Senbotsusha irei*” to *kindai Nihon: Junnansha to gokoku jinja no seiritsu shi* 「戦没者慰霊」と近代日本: 殉難者と護国神社の成立史. Bensei Shuppan, 2015.

Takahashi 2016

Takahashi Chiaki 高橋千晶. “Taigai senden to shokuminchi” 対外宣伝と植民地. In *Hakurankai ehagaki to sono jidai* 博覧会絵はがきとその時代, eds. Takahashi Chiaki and Maekawa Shiori 前川志織. Seikyūsha, 2016, pp. 51–78.

Takamori 2006

Takamori Naofumi 高森直史. *Kaigun nikujaga monogatari: Rūtsu hakkutsusha ga kataru kaigun shokubunka shi* 海軍肉じゃが物語: ルーツ発掘者が語る海軍食文化史. Kōjinsha, 2006.

Takashiba 1911

Takashiba Sadao 高柴貞雄, ed. *Shin Maizuru annaiki* 新舞鶴案内記. Shin Maizuru Annaiki Henshū Kai, 1911.

Taoka 2016

Taoka Keisuke 多岡圭祐. “Gunkō kaisetsu to Maizuru no jisha no dōkō ni tsuite” 軍港開設と舞鶴の寺社の動向について. In *Maizuru chiiki no bunka isan to katsuyō* 舞鶴地域の文化遺産と活用, ed. Higashi Noboru 東昇. Kyoto Prefectural University, 2016, pp. 218–53.

Tsutsui 2010

Tsutsui Kazunobu 筒井一伸. “‘Kaigun,’ ‘Kaijō jieitai’ to Maizuru no chiiki burando senryaku” 「海軍」・「海上自衛隊」と舞鶴の地域ブランド戦略. In Sakane 2010, pp. 390–94.

Uesugi 2010

Uesugi Kazuhiro 上杉和央. “‘Hikiage no machi’ no kioku” 「引揚のまち」の記憶. In Sakane 2010, pp. 253–92.

Uesugi 2011

Uesugi Kazuhiro. “Gunkō toshi to kindai no bunka isan: Maizuru no ‘akarenga’” 軍港都市と近代の文化遺産: 舞鶴の「赤れんが」. *Kyōto Furitsu Daigaku gakujutsu hōkoku: Jinbun* 京都府立大学学術報告: 人文 63 (2011), pp. 1–16.

Uesugi 2012a

Uesugi Kazuhiro. “Renzoku to danzetsu no toshizō: Mō hitotsu no ‘heiwa’ toshi, Kure” 連続と断絶の都市像: もう一つの「平和」都市・呉. In Fukuma, Yamaguchi, and Yoshimura 2012, pp. 99–154.

Uesugi 2012b

Uesugi Kazuhiro, ed. *Gunkōtoshi shi kenkyū 2: Keikan hen* 軍港都市史研究2: 景観編. Seibundō, 2012.

Uesugi 2014

Uesugi Kazuhiro. “Gunkō toshi ‘Kure’ kara heiwa sangyō kōwan toshi ‘Kure’ e” 軍港都市〈呉〉から平和産業港湾都市〈呉〉へ. In *Chiiki no naka no guntai 5: Chūgoku, Shikoku, nishi no guntai to gunkō toshi* 地域のなかの軍隊5: 中国・四国・西の軍隊と軍港都市, ed. Sakane Yoshihiro. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2014, pp. 104–30.

Ueyama 2017

Ueyama Kazuo 上山和雄, ed. *Gunkōtoshi shi kenkyū 4: Yokosuka hen* 軍港都市史研究4: 横須賀編. Seibundō, 2017.

UNESCO

UNESCO. “Return to Maizuru Port: Documents Related to the Internment and Repatriation Experiences of Japanese (1945–1956).” Available at <http://www.unesco.org/> (Accessed 28 April 2017).

Yamagami 2010

Yamagami Tatsuya 山神達也. “Kindai ikō no Maizuru no jinkō” 近代以降の舞鶴の人口. In Sakane 2010, pp. 299–341.

Yamaguchi 2007

Yamaguchi Makoto 山口誠. *Guamu to Nihonjin: Sensō o umetateta rakuen* グアムと日本人: 戦争を埋立てた楽園. Iwanami Shoten, 2007.

Yamaguchi 2012

Yamaguchi Makoto. “Hiroshima, Hiroshima, Hiroshima, Hiroshima” 広島、ヒロシマ、広島、ひろしま. In Fukuma, Yamaguchi, and Yoshimura 2012, pp. 256–310.

Yamamoto 2013

Yamamoto Rika 山本理佳. “Kindaika isan” ni miru kokka to chiiki no kankeisei 「近代化遺産」にみる国家と地域の関係性. Kokon Shoin, 2013.

Yamamoto 2015

Yamamoto Rika. “Yamato Myūjiamu setsuritsu o keiki to suru Kure-shi shūhen no kankō henka” 大和ミュージアム設立を契機とする呉市周辺の観光変化. *Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* 国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告 193 (2015), pp. 187–219.

Yokosuka-shi

Yokosuka-shi 横須賀市. “Yokosuka-shi tōkeisho” 横須賀市統計書. Available at <https://www.city.yokosuka.kanagawa.jp/1210/data/t-k-syo/now.html/> (Accessed 14 September 2018).

Yoneyama 1999

Lisa Yoneyama. *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory*. University of California Press, 1999.

Zwigenberg 2014

Ran Zwigenberg. *Hiroshima: The Origins of Global Memory Culture*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.

(Translated from the Japanese by Daniel Milne)